/16 cont./
two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the inhumation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a means of social control.

México City,
Mexico

Note: The materials for the present study were collected during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV; Tzeltal NV;

NOTES ON THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF TZELTAL COMMUNITIES OF CHIAPAS

In February and March of 1938, Alfonso Villa Rojas made an ethnological reconnaissance of Tzeltal settlements in northeastern Chiapas, Mexico. The work was done under the auspices of Carnegie Institution of Washington as a guide to the planning of more intensive field work. San Cristobal de las Casas, where Mr. Villa arrived on the first of February, served naturally as a base. A short trip was taken to Teopizca and Amatenango, and a second to visit the ruins of San Gregorio[1] and the village of Chanal. On the fourteenth of that month, Mr. Villa started northward from Las Casas, visiting fifteen Tzeltal settlements, and then entered Chol country at Tila and left Chiapas by airplane from Salto de Agua.

In Mexico City Mr. Villa was provided with a letter of introduction from Ing. Ignacio Marquina, head of the Department of Prehistoric Monuments, of the Secretariat of Public Education. In Tuxtla Gutierrez the Governor of Chiapas, Ing. Efrain Gutierrez, received Mr. Villa and heard from him explanation of Mr. Villa's interests and purposes. Mr. Frans Blom had given Mr. Villa a letter of introduction, but the person addressed was not in Las Casas when Mr. Villa arrived. In Las Casas Mr. Villa received great help from Don José Villanueva. To all these persons who extended kindness and help, grateful acknowledgment is made. Dr. Ruth Bunzel kindly wrote information on the region to Mr. Villa before he began his journey.

The Tzeltal communities, given in the order in which they were visited and with indication of the length of time spent in each, were as follows: Amatenango (2 days), Chanal (2 days), Tenejapa (3 days), Cancuc (1 day), Oxchuc (5 days), San Martin (1 day), Tenango (2 days), Sivaca (1 day), Ococingo (6 days), Bachajon (2 days), Citalá (2 days), Guaquitepec (2½ days), Chilón (2 days), Yajalon (2 days), Petalcingo (½ day).

These villages have been the locus of a number of Indian uprisings,[2] and disturbances have occurred recently, in 1914, 1917, and 1930.[3] Therefore the inhabitants of Spanish culture (Ladinos) are not infrequently uneasy. In Cancuc and Oxchuc Mr. Villa's work was impeded by a revival of this uneasiness, the Ladinos fearing that the celebrations of the carnival season might lead the Indians to acts of violence. With this exception, however, Mr. Villa found the Indians accessible and conditions of work favorable. The information reported herein was obtained in almost every instance from Indians, not Ladinos. Mr. Villa used an interpreter in cases where the Indians did not speak Spanish; although he has a command of Yucatec, and has done ethnological work in Yucatan,[4] he does not speak Tzeltal.

The notes Starr[5] collected on the Tzeltal in 1901 were apparently[6] obtained

[1] For a [illegible] of these ruins see Schuman, 1916, pp. 236–[illegible].
[2] Vicente Pineda, 1888. [3] Redfield and Villa, 1934. [4] Starr, 1902. [5] Ibid., pp. 69–72.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.469-B]

leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyse both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which *vary*—in the first case inversely and in the second case directly—with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components—the ratios, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *Pah'-Zamal*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *Pa'Pal*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *rwoyohil*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analysed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger as the

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

114 27) but without touching on social organization.

[101] Study of social organization began in
[122] 1938 when I made my first trip through the region under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Redfield and Villa Rojas, 1939, pp. 107–19). In 1942–44 we spent several periods among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc, establishing camp at Yochib, and published the results soon thereafter (Villa Rojas, 1946, 1947).

Since 1957 various investigations by the universities of Chicago, Harvard, and Stanford have been headed by the anthropologists Sol Tax, Norman A. McQuown, Evon Z. Vogt, Julian Pitt-Rivers, and A. Kimball Romney.

221 Subsistence Patterns and Food Habits
241 *The Milpa*

Nothing is of greater importance to the Indian than to have a good *milpa*. Three classes of milpas are cultivated: *sijomal*, planted in mid-January and harvested three months later; *nal-aual* or "March milpa" planted in mid-March and harvested toward the end of August; the main milpa, *jabil-caltic* or "milpa of the year," sown between April and May and harvested between November and December. The first two types are most often cultivated in the lower zone of Tierra Caliente, where humidity is favorable.

241 Among the Tzeltal of Oxchuc (Villa
804 Rojas, 1946, pp. 510–39), milpa work begins in February with the measuring of the plot. The measuring rod (*jaubtic*), which presumably corresponds to a *brazada* (the distance between the arms extended), is equivalent to 1.98 m. The area 8 brazadas square takes the name of *tarea* (about 256 sq. m.). The area of the milpa is also computed according to the number of ears of corn needed for seeding: 60 ears of corn are required to fill 1.5 hectares, the average in milpas that we observed.

241 Since the bush is short, only a hatchet
412 (*eche*) is necessary to cut it down. The

[P. 199-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is
[653] supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday
[123] all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bitterly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum.

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitan. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule.

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajon. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked.

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level.

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists.

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajon went to his house to order food for us.

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

172 114 man, Dr. Schmeling, was a stone with rows of hieroglyphs somewhat similar to the one first discovered. Behind the church, in a combination back yard and pig sty, we located three large stone figures, two of them with inscriptions. Then we heard of a stone said to be partly buried in the ground on an old site. When we arrived at this place, the owner of the lot appeared, very drunk, and insisted that we pay him $25.00 for permission to see and draw the stone. He was very noisy so we retired, and the next morning returned with an order from the municipal president giving us authority to do what we wanted to with the stone, as it was government property (see figs. 197-198). The laws of Mexico state that all ancient buildings and monuments belong to the nation. Monuments cannot be excavated or removed from the country without government permission. The Tulane Expedition had permits to explore, and due to these permits we received much help from all officials. All objects we discovered were drawn to scale and photographed, but nothing was removed.

[122] →

[126] →

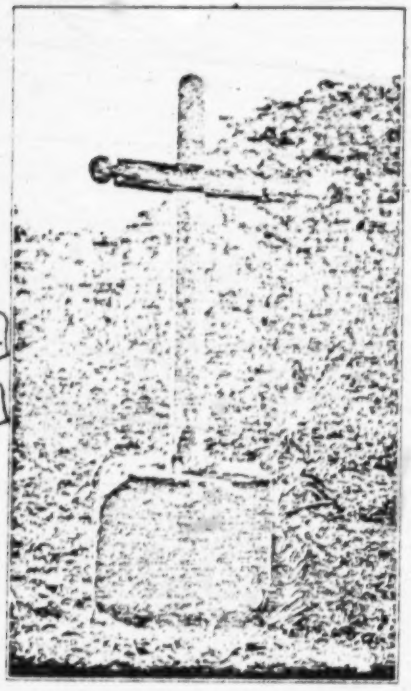

Fig. 198—Ubala Ranch, Chis. Upper half of Monument T-8 with modern cross.

Outside the village there was said to be a large stone with carvings. La Farge went out in search of it led by our somewhat imbecile local guide. For some time they wandered around without finding anything, but finally the guide led him to what he said was another stone, a large square block with a circular hole in the center, in which was stuck a huge wooden cross (fig. 199). The stone had been dragged to its present position by our guide's family, and used as a base for the cross of his grandmother's grave. His family did not wish us to find the monument, as they feared we would excavate it; but our imbecile thought he had to produce something for his pay, so he took La Farge to the stone.

[126] La Farge made a sketch of the principal inscription, which showed that it began with one of the so-called Initial Series, most

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón

Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas,* about 40 centimeters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul,* just outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for jaguars (see fig. 308).

Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions, large and small, of a Bachajon family—altogether some forty-four different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as possible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

Fig. 292—Bachajon boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha,* "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa,* and in Tzeltal *tutna',* "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends, is called *gwakac na',* "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk?*) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves. It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

126 124 [122] that they were present. I took no active part in the recording, since I could not speak Tzeltal and did not know the appropriate range of responses that the communication called up in the participants. None of the records are expressions of communication that would have taken place had I not chosen to make records. That is, the sessions were always initiated by me with the express intent of making records. This is reflected in the records by discussion of the tape recorder, of my performances associated with it, and so on. In addition, the content of some of the records is focused, as I have mentioned, on recent illnesses in the household. By and large, however, to some unmeasured and thus unknown degree, the communications in the records are reflexes of pressures on the speakers that endure far longer than the recording session, that are structured by the variable modes of linguistic expression, by the internal coherence of the domains of "content" that became the subject of the conversation, by recent experiences which are structured by the content of the domains, and by the previously well-defined social relationships existing between the speakers. Some evidence that the relationship between the informant and the other party to the conversation helped to structure the recorded communications is presented in a report to the National Science Foundation (Metzger 1961). Briefly the length of the conversation--i.e., the total number of words--was greater when the informant knew and/or liked the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzo'ontahal was made in four field sessions, the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each returning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and experiences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an outsider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These included the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alfereces*—the officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

I am indebted to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which made possible the research for this study. I owe an intellectual debt to Sol Tax, who introduced me to the problems and potentialities of the area as a locus for field study, to Norman McQuown, who gave me the first instruction in Tzeltal and provided a grammar which facilitated learning the language, and to Manning Nash, who provided some of the earlier formulations of the culture from which I have borrowed. I am grateful to Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams, who generously provided equipment and facilities for work with informants in San Cristóbal Las Casas in the summer of 1964. Alfonso Villa Rojas, who was director of the Instituto Nacional Indígenista, was of great assistance in the first summer's field trip, introducing me to leaders within the town and in the Instituto's headquarters in Las Casas.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ters in Las Casas. His encouragement and support of investigations by foreign students set an example in international cooperation. I am personally indebted to Mary Marshall for the companionship and assistance she offered during our summer of residence in the public bathhouse of the town; she is responsible for the observations in Appendix 3A and 3B. Terrence Kaufman checked the Tzeltal words appearing in the glossary. I am grateful for the hospitality and friendship of the family of the schoolmaster, Louis Tavernier. Without the patience, the insight, and the friendship of Juliana Lopez Shunton, Mariano Lopez Lin, Simón Perez Kantirón, and their families, the book would never have been written. Vera Deutsch provided encouragement and assistance in the final typing of the manuscript. My children, Eric and Laura, shared the hardships of fieldwork and of producing the book.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

121 and can be empirically described by the observer in the form of a model.

I do not pretend these to be always the best possible definitions of any of these concepts. I find that in the course of my training as a social anthropologist, I came to think of these concepts in such terms, and in working my problems they became the most comfortable conceptual frame. I do feel, however, that in explicitly defining my use, I solve the main problem of communication between author and reader.

Sources of Data

114 122 The area in which the communities selected for this study are located have been under intensive multi-disciplinary study for more than ten years. Mexican anthropologists of the National Museum and the National Indian Institute have done surveys and community descriptions on their own and under the direction of Robert Redfield and Sol Tax, of the University of Chicago. (See bibliography.) The University of Chicago Chiapas Project, now in its second stage and seven years old, has covered the area with a fine-tooth comb, and prepared a three-volume report which contains information on geography (soils, rain distribution, physical character, water supply, etc.), botany, linguistics, social anthropology, archeology, ethnohistory and other related fields (see McQuown et al., 1959).

There is a wealth of primary sources for the area, but, unfortunately, there has never been up to the present a careful analysis of their content, although they have been extensively quoted by modern authors with different purposes in mind.

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzoʔontahal

Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure.

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzoʔontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment

[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions.

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

[P. 209-A]